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163 average age of the mother at first conception can be estimated to be about sixteen, the range being reported from thirteen to nineteen. The father is generally about five years older than the mother. Considering the existing families with more than one child, we found that families had from two to six living and one or two deceased children. It must be realized, however, that these are not yet completed families and will produce further children. No difference in fertility could be noticed between women married to white men or Indians.

164 The Kaska are not a healthy people. The most common illnesses noted during the period of field work were tuberculosis, poor teeth, influenza, dysentery, colds, skin diseases, such as impetigo, and red eyes. A few cases of gonorrhea were treated by the army physicians. No undue frequency of accidents was noted. The only serious one during the fall of 1945 in the Upper Laird tribe was the case of an elderly man who fell while intoxicated and sprained his back.

Children tend to have particularly bad teeth. Two children, aged three, had lost the two upper middle incisors and several children showed extremely bad tooth decay. Influenza epidemics occur occasionally and in the fall of 1944 a dysentery epidemic spread from the town of Lower Post up and down the Laird River. At Smith River five Nelson Indian children were reported to have lost their lives from this disease and an upper Laird Indian woman and child also died. Sporadic outbreaks of dysentery continued during the

165 the summer of 1945. Eleven deaths occurred in the period from September 1944 through August 1945. This indicates a death rate of at least 55 per 1000, equaling the birth rate. Of these deaths seven were of children, one a newborn baby.

## HISTORY

173 According to the Old Man, an Upper Laird informant, the Kaska Indians of that region believe themselves to be descendants from the Tlingit through the Ross River (Pelly) Indians. The progenitors of the present day Laird River Kaska originally moved south to explore the Upper Laird country and remained there. It seems worthwhile to consider this bit of traditional history. Pelly and Ross Rivers mark the headwaters of the great Yukon drainage system and their confluence represents a point which would be relatively easy to reach by moving up the waterways from Bering Sea. From the head of the Pelly River, migrants could continue toward the interior by crossing the Pelly River-Frances Lake divide, thus striking the Laird River drainage system. Once across this barrier the vast stretch of intermontane basin lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Cordillera would lie open. If such a theory of migration into the intermontane basin is to be sustained, the cultures of the tribes extending from the Yukon River would have to show a reasonable

[171] degree of similarity. Although evidence is still lacking for the groups north of Frances Lake *(for example, the Pelly River Indians)*, similarity is found between the Kaska (but excluding the Nelson River tribe), Tahltan, and Carrier. Masks, potlatching, line dancing instead of circle dancing, and dual organizations are some of the traits common to Alaskan and the Athapaskan tribes of west-central British Columbia but lacking among the more easterly Slave and Sekani groups.

The above migration theory would deny the derivation of the diagnostic traits from the Northwest Coast, although the subsequent development of such traits may have been

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much longer than those found on toboggans. Instead of fitting on the rear of the conveyance, the handlebars of a sleigh extend about halfway to the front of the vehicle where they are screwed in place. A lashing of babiche runs along each side of the sleigh body and is used for tying down the load. Shafts are employed with the dog harness. These are cut from green spruce poles, about six feet long and three inches in their greatest diameter. They are attached to the sleigh by means of babiche. The line passes through a pair of holes drilled in the most forward stanchion on each side of the sleigh and through corresponding holes drilled at the lower end of each shaft.

Sleighs are packed the same way as toboggans and their management follows similar principles. When not in use they stand on one side or else are stored on sleigh racks. When left standing with the runners in the snow, ice forms which must be knocked off before the vehicle can be used.

Toy sleds, about three or four feet long, are played with by children around the winter settlements.

Foot travel is the commonest form of overland summer travel, although some Nelson Indian children and women ride horses when long distances must be covered. In winter, children from five or six years of age generally walk, while younger children are packed on the mother's back or else ride in sleighs and toboggans. No particular type of foot-gear is regarded as most suitable for land travel in summer, although moccasins are preferred for hunting. In winter moccasins are always worn and, under these, snowshoes.

Snowshoes have several functions. By relieving the strain of plodding through deep snow and the problem of slipping on an unevenly packed trail, they reduce fatigue in winter travel. They also facilitate travel, since a person can go faster on snowshoes than by plodding through deep snow unaided. Finally these aids are necessary in breaking trail for dogs, and therefore increase the daily distance which these animals can cover.

Snowshoes are of two types. The first, used for hunting and trapping, generally equals the wearer's height in length and is about a foot wide. These are used when a man desires to travel cross country as rapidly as possible, the size of the webbed area preventing him from sinking too deeply into the snow. While such "big snowshoes" are known, their use was not observed among the Upper Liard Indians during the period of field work. The second type is used in breaking trail for dogs and vehicles and for hunting or trapping. Their length is also approximated to the height of the wearer, a five foot man generally wearing snowshoes about three feet long and ten inches wide. Left and right foot snowshoes are recognized, the greatest curve of the wood being on the outside of the foot. Snowshoe frames are prepared by men and the pawls are almost always filled by women. The details of lacing and of the foot lashing follow the style which has been traditional since aboriginal [illegible] and will not be described here.

In contrast to what has been said for other areas,[10] the Kaska Indian tends to walk on

[10] A detailed description of putting on, walking, and turning with snowshoes will be found in Osgood, Ingalik Material Culture (1940), 349-350. The picture he gives there is in complete agreement with what was noted among the Kaska. Personal use of snowshoes revealed that it takes no more than two or three hours to become used to them in walking. Learning to turn takes longer time, and a number of days are required before their presence on the feet ceases to be consciously noted. So far as their indispensability is concerned, there can be no question.

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inadequate. A generously estimated intake of 1850 calories a day is insufficient for work which requires from 2500 to 3000 calories for both sexes. Vitamin C is almost completely lacking; the amount of vitamin D received in the diet is low and can hardly be supplemented by the weak winter sunlight. Such minerals as calcium, iron, and copper are also poorly represented. So long as a mixed diet can be maintained, a proper balance of carbohydrates and proteins is assured, but in winter, personal experience revealed the intake of fats to be too low. As a result, considerable sugar is craved and eaten. In summer the diet is more nutritional and the only deficiency seems to be in vitamin D, but this can then be supplemented by sunlight. It may also be pointed out that the early months of living in the bush are associated with a somewhat better balanced diet than the later months, when most of the luxury items have been exhausted.

Moose and caribou meat are the principal preserved foods. A few fish are sometimes dried in the fall but seldom last more than a few weeks. Berries may be preserved by boiling and storing in unsealed glass jars, but they do not last until winter. A few families were reported to mash up dried low bush cranberries with bear grease in the fall for winter consumption.

In summer and early fall, when fresh meat is in danger of rapid spoilage, it is preserved by drying. The meat is boned and cut into a single slice, about a half-inch thick and from eighteen to thirty inches long. These slices are hung over a pole, which is supported between two forked sticks, and exposed to the sun. Underneath the meat a small smudge fire is built to keep away the flies. The meat dries in a day or two and is then removed to the house or cache, where it may be hung or stored in empty flour sacks until eaten. A few rabbits are sometimes also dried in this way, the skin and viscera being removed and the animal hung up by the hind legs until dry. In later fall, when flies have disappeared, larger pieces of meat are hung outside the cabin without a fire and left to dry or freeze. If game is killed in winter, only sufficient meat for a few days is brought into camp, the rest of the animal being left in the bush on a platform cache. People return to such a "meat place" when more meat is needed. Food preservation is the work of women.

In order of frequency, meat is prepared by boiling, frying, and broiling. Staples, such as dry fruit, potatoes, rice, and oatmeal, as well as the fins and heads of trout, are always boiled. The water is not poured off these foods but eaten. In camps as well as in the winter settlements where there are stoves, meat and fish are both fried or boiled. Porcupine is generally roasted but is also boiled. When porcupine has been cleaned of hair and gutted, with the kidneys left in place, it is split lengthwise on either side of the backbone. The quarters are axed off and the backbone is cut into three sections. The meat is skinned after it has cooked or roasted. Moose tongue, rabbit and beaver meat are also usually boiled.[12] The heads of the moose, caribou, and porcupine are always roasted before an open fire and are regarded as delicacies. Moose bones are split and the marrow used in the preparation of soup. At a moose kill young people often throw the lower leg bones into a fire to cook the marrow, which is then scraped out of the split bone and eaten. When broiling meat, a portion of the kidney or colon fat is often simultaneously roasted and portions of meat and

[12] The same information has been reported for the Mackenzie River Indians. Phillips, Unpublished Manuscript (1944).

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TABLE 10. SCALE OF MONTHLY RATIONS FOR INDIANS ON RELIEF[11]

| Item | One Adult | Two Adults |
|---|---|---|
| Flour (Canada approved) | 24 lbs. | 36 lbs. |
| Rolled oats | 6 lbs. | 9 lbs. |
| Baking powder | 1 lb. | 1½ lbs. |
| Tea | 1 lb. | 1½ lbs. |
| Sugar | 2 lbs. | 4 lbs. |
| Lard | 3 lbs. | 5 lbs. |
| Beans | 5 lbs. | 7 lbs. |
| Rice | 2 lbs. | 3 lbs. |
| Cheese | 1 lb. | 1½ lbs. |
| Dried milk | 2 lbs. | 3 lbs. |
| Salt | 15¢ to 20¢ per month | |
| Matches | 15¢ to 20¢ per month | |

who, because of age or widowhood, are presumed to be unable to trap sufficient furs to maintain themselves. Lacking even such essentials as soap and dried fruit, these rations are evidently expected to be supplemented by meat and fish supplied by relatives or friends or caught in rabbit snares. The allotment is bitterly criticized by most Indians.

## DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing is used for protection and modesty but relatively little attention is paid to dress as a channel for expressing vanity. Although new and attractive clothes are greatly valued by girls, only one or two young women are characterized by any demonstrable narcissism in this respect. Most women are not careful in the way they dress, change clothes relatively infrequently (although more often than men), and wear garments that are stained, worn, and ill fitting.

In summer men wear two piece suits of knitted cotton underwear with long sleeves and drawers. Over this are trousers of cotton duck or worsted, and a flannel shirt with long sleeves. The trousers are often khaki colored, the shirt blue or gray. The collar is left open and in very warm weather several additional buttons of the shirt and undershirt are undone. Trousers are supported by a leather novelty belt which is often quite wide and gaudily studded. Heavy woolen socks are worn over ankle high leather boots which are usually laced from the outside in, instead of from inside out. A few of the older men wear slipper moccasins.

A wide variety of headgear is fancied.[12] Young men are attracted to "cowboy" hats or wide brimmed Stetsons. Older men usually wear [illegible] hats. Other types of headgear appear and disappear as fads take hold. In 1944, Tahltan Indian youths from

[11] The list is dated January 3, 1944. Children under twelve years receive half this ration. "This ration," the list reads, "is set by the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa and merchants must not change either the quantities or commodities without written permission from the local Indian Agent."

[12] In conversation, Dr. Cornelius Osgood has pointed out that a taste for novelty in headgear seems to be characteristic of aboriginal and contemporary Northern Athapaskans and is also found in the Northwest Coast. For some types of headgear see Plate 2.

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breathe. "He think about it." Then Jesus brought a small bird and threw it into the clay mouth of the image. Again Jesus spoke to the man and this time the figure replied with speech. "He talk damn good."

Jesus thought about what He had done. He decided that He ought to make a girl for this man. Giving the man some "lunch," Jesus told him to go to sleep. Then cutting into the man Jesus removed a left rib—the last rib. He put this under the blanket next to the man. When the man awoke a woman was sleeping alongside of him. Jesus told the man to "keep" the girl. He told the couple to raise children. When the man and woman died, Jesus said, the children would marry and they would have children and so there would always be people in the world.

Aboriginal elements are more sharply delineated in the myth of the origin of the sun and moon,[9] which was obtained from the same informant.

At first there was no light, just perpetual darkness. The sun and moon had a boss and were kept in a cabin where they furnished never failing light. The keeper of these bodies had a wife, who had a daughter. This girl drank water in which there was some dirt. She was unsuccessful in putrifying the water and as a result of swallowing the dirt conceived and gave birth to a boy. The boy "grow smart quick." When he was able to walk around he began to cry and demanded the moon to play with. His grandfather assented and gave the moon to the child. The boy rolled the moon back and forth in the cabin until it accidentally rolled out the door and away. From then on moonlight appeared.

The next day the little boy began to cry for the sun. The grandfather heard him and exclaimed: "I'm tired of hearing that crying. Give it to him." So the mother gave the child the sun as a plaything. The boy rolled the sun back and forth until it too rolled away. Now the family found itself in darkness. They went to sleep. In the morning upon awakening they found daylight everywhere. "Good now. No more hard time."

Although lacking a comprehensive sample of Kaska speculation, we may nevertheless provisionally seek to classify their reflective thought. Ontologically the people are, of course, supernaturalistic in their conceptual perspective. That is, they tend to refer ultimate explanations of being to a principle which is beyond nature. Today this being is generally identified as an anthropomorphic God. It is not surprising to find this ontological theory associated with the metaphysical duality of mind and matter. Such dualism is evident in the notion that a person's thoughts can influence the capture of game and fur because of a power which is continuous with man's mind and also controls the animal world. Dualism also manifests itself in the idea of divination, in the ethical conceptions of free will and predestination, and in the belief that human life depends on the correlated functioning of body and soul. Explicitly, of course, the notion of metaphysical duality has never been formalized in Kaska philosophy.

One characteristic of epistemological thinking stands out clearly, the relative nature of truth. The Indian does not regard his thinking in absolutist, or universal, terms of validity. "That's what Injun believe," Old Man would say, implying the realization that white and other people have conceptual systems which differ from that held by the Kaska. Knowledge to the Indian is derived from experience and tradition. Since not all peoples have the

[9] The same tale occurs among the Kutchin and also the Tlingit. See Chapman, *Notes on the Tinneh Tribes of Anvik, Alaska* (1907), 8–10; Pinart, *Notes sur les Kolouches* (1872), 757–758.

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terest in the future. Asked what he would do in, say, five years, Nitla replied in a manner suggesting that the whole notion of projecting himself that far ahead was incomprehensible. "I don't know," he said. "Sometime I want something. Five years more I want something. Sometimes a year I want something. Sometimes nothing. I wouldn't think about it. I don't figure up anything." The question was repeated and the subject echoed it, speaking half to himself. Then: "Don't know. I never think about it. I just look to eat . . . five years more I'm never think. I'm hungry . . . " In other words, Nitla is emotionally bound to the tangible reality of the present. Whereas the future is remote, its consideration inviting a wasteful disbursal of unproductive effort. Here, *now*, are the problems which he is best equipped to solve and that are most important.

The weak emotional valence exerted upon the utilitarian personality by the future is related to the scope of native divination and revelation. In these situations, expecially with regard to intuition and dreaming, we find an expression of concrete immediate wishes. For example, the camp may be expecting the return of a youth, the people waiting for news or supplies which he will bring from the trading post. It is at such a time that a person may experience a dream or omen pointing to the youth's return. Similarly a person who has planned to hunt the following day is encouraged by relatives with optimistic predictions of success. The only example of large scale prophecy came from Old Kean, and his statements, as already pointed out, met with little popular emotional interest.[15]

*Expression in the Rorschach test situation.* Our discussion has identified utilitarianism in practical and concrete thinking. Several Rorschach criteria may be regarded as indicators of such a style of mentation. Pointing to the percentage of animal associations as one index of "adaptive thinking at a peripheral level," Beck goes on to say: "The percentage of animal associations is the measure of the ability (a) to see what's there, and also (b) to free the perceptual activity from this easiest kind of reaction."[16] Animal responses thus reveal attention to the mundane and not only to specifically practical aspects of living. Klopfer and Kelley concur with this when they relate a high percentage of animal responses to a narrow range of interests.[17] The use of animal responses as an index to a motivation directing attention to practicality and the concrete poses another question. Would not a people closely familiar with an animal environment tend to give more animal responses than a people in an urban area, whose principal experience is with people? Hallowell did not find this to occur among the Saulteaux, where the mean animal per cent obtained by him (47.8) compares closely to that which has been found in western society, namely, 46.87 per cent (S.D., 17.58).[18] The figure for Kaska adults, on the other hand, is significantly in excess of these figures, being 62 per cent. Homogeneity is indicated for the Kaska, since only five of the nineteen adult subjects produced fewer than fifty per cent animal associations. The interpretation

[15] This example gives us another interesting opportunity to test the theory of the deviant as partly socially patterned. In Old Kean we find socially patterned behavior (prophecy) carried to an extreme point of idiosyncratic development, probably in order to express personal insecurity and hostility. See above, p. 14.

[16] Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 25.

[17] Klopfer and Kelley, *The Rorschach Technique* (1942), 214-216.

[18] Hallowell, *The Rorschach Technique in the Study of Personality and Culture* (1945), 203. Beck, *Rorschach's Test. II. A Variety of Personality Pictures* (1945), 25.

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piece of charcoal into her mouth. Occasionally the mother-in-law threw a piece of meat to the "old woman." The brothers became suspicious of the old woman's actions and made her tell what had happened. Then they went to the owl's nest and pleaded for their wife to return. But the owl swooped down at them saying: "I'm going to eat you." The brothers became angry and one of them shot the owl with a bow and arrow. The owl failed to die and referring to the point in its leg, said: "That's going to be my sinew."

This story was told by Old Man after he had been talking to Nitla about the latter's loss of Adele to John. He teased Nitla with living as people did in "old fashioned" days and was reminded of this story. The tale again stresses the deceitfulness of women. Although men are dependent on women, they always suffer a residual fear lest they be deceived or overwhelmed (eaten). In a burst of hostility, men fantasy using their strength to kill the ambivalent object. But male self-assertion, symbolized by the arrow, simply strengthens the woman. The closing incident of the tale might also be interpreted with reference to the self-assertion which men unconsciously invest in coitus. The penis, instead of conquering the female has its strength incorporated by the unassailable sexual object. In other words, men fear failure in their sexual relationships.

Female homosexuality and masculine striving are two elements in another folktale.

## A TRIBE OF WOMEN

Two brothers, caught on an ice floe, drifted downriver until they reached Fet Liard. One of the boys was young and not smart; the other was already a little smart. They reached land and found a camp in which there were only women. The women fed the brothers. As the youths ate they saw another group of women return to camp with caribou meat. The hiding woman in the camp explained that in this country all male children were killed at birth because they didn't want men. Men, they said, hurt women. Here women "bothered" each other and in that way conceived children who were painfully born through Caesarian section. The older boy told the women how children were born in the country upriver. Then the younger brother saw the "stick gun," which the women used in hunting. To fire the weapon, the hunter hit the back of an arrow with a stick. The younger brother did not believe that such weapon was practical, and invited the women to shoot him. The women refused but the boy walked off a distance and insisted that they try. So the women killed the younger brother with the stick gun. The older boy then showed the tribe how to bury the dead in a grave instead of under a pile of drums. [illegible] every couple [illegible]

[illegible] In Arapesh a similar myth occurs "in which a wandering male finds a group of independent women who have flying foxes (flying foxes are the symbol of aggressive, actively sexed, non-maternal women) as lovers to scratch their vulvas and who bear them only female children. The men marries them. They are pictured as ignorant of the proper order of childbirth (for a male child) so that the first pregnant woman is cut open and dies; after which the man teaches them how to bear children properly. He then grabs all the flying foxes in their tumbrum house and burns them up; only one small flying fox escapes and enlists all the birds to avenge the death of the flying foxes. The birds attack the men, cut off his penis and drop it among the women, who bury it sorrowfully. Meanwhile, he has begotten enough sons to continue the race normally." (Mead, The Mountain Arapesh II Supernaturalism [1941], 345-346; see also 378-380.) Not only is the remarkable similarity of these tales, originating in two distant societies noteworthy, but more striking is the fact that both Arapesh and Kaska society pattern ambivalent attitudes to sex which this tale serves to express. In Arapesh the story "expresses the men's fear of the woman's independent sexuality which threatens death." In Kaska the tale, among other things, reveals the danger which emotionally isolated men perceive in too intimate sexual interaction.

[For the distribution of folktale elements among surrounding tribes, see category 116, pp. 428-449, 451-452, 455, 457-470. The information is primarily in the form of footnotes, giving references to published literature. Most of these notes were added by Franz Boas.]

## CLOTHING AND ORNAMENTS AND PERSONAL ADORNMENT

### Dress

291 Clothing of men and women was much alike. Usually full dress for men consisted of long boots or instead of these moccasins and long leggings, breech-clouts, belt, shirt, robe, and cap or headband. Some used no shirts. Mitts and neck-wraps were used in cold weather. Women wore boots, moccasins and leggings like those of the men. They used no breech-clouts, their shirts were much longer than men's shirts, and therefore may be better called dresses or gowns. Belts, robes, caps or hoods, neck-wraps and mitts were also used by women. Usually people went fully dressed or nearly so but this depended considerably on the weather. In very warm weather a few men when at home wore only breech-clouts. It seems that formerly boots were more used than moccasins and leggings in the winter time. No ponchos were used either large or small. Small ones consisting of single skins like those common among the Niłak were not used. No poncho vests tying at the sides like those of the Niłak were used. No aprons, skirts or bodices were in vogue. Cloaks and capes were not part or regular dress but only ceremonial. No [171] clothing woven of any kind of bark was used although such was used to some extent by the Tlingit and therefore known to the Tahltan. All clothing was of leather and fur.

### Moccasins

291 294 Moccasins were made of caribou and moose leather and sewed with sinew. Long ago there was only the one style or cut of moccasin known. This kind had a round toe and a long tongue. It was of three pieces, viz., bottom or foot, instep or tongue, and top, upper legging or anklepiece. The heel seam was T-shaped and there was no toe seam, the foot piece at the toe being turned up over the end of the foot and sewed to the long instep piece with considerable puckering to obtain the desired shape. The tongues of some of these mocassins were longer in proportion than others, some reaching almost to the end of the toes. In most of them, however, the tongue was further back reaching to about the base of the toes. The ankle piece varied in depth and consisted of lighter leather than the foot piece. The laces consisted of two strings of caribou leather which passed around the folded anklepiece holding the shoe tightly on the foot. The trailer was cut square across

and generally close up to the heel. (See Hatt, Fig. 24 and National Museum specimen No. 1). I have called this kind of moccasin Type A for the Tahltan or the 'round-toed' type. (It is the same as the No. x series of Hatt). It is still used by the Tahltan, some of whom prefer it in the winter time, especially for walking with snow-shoes. This type of moccasin occurs in the South among the Niłak and other tribes, but there it is uncommon and also modern, having been copied from moccasins used by the furtraders.

291 294 [171]

Three other types or cuts or moccasins are used by the tribe at the present day. One of these, which I will call Type B or the 'square cut toe' type is also a three piece moccasin. The tongue is short and the foot piece has a T-shaped heel seam and a T-shaped toe seam. The toe seam generally ends on the top of the foot very near the end of the toe rather than exactly at the end of the toe, but this feature varies somewhat. There is also some difference in the width of the horizontal cut at the end of the toe. Usually the skin at the end of the vertical seam extending from the tongue to the toe protrudes a short distance over the cross or horizontal seam, forming a short flap which hides it. The lower part of the horizontal seam is often more or less puckered, but this also varies in individual shoes. This moccasin is the same as Hatt's series VIII, and National Museum specimens Nos. 2 and 3. It differs from the same type of moccasin among tribes to the south (viz., Chilcotin, Shuswap, Niłak and Kutenai, etc.,) in the following minor details. Among the southern tribes the toe seam nearly always ends exactly at the end of the toe. The horizontal cut at the toe is always narrow and often exceedingly narrow. Instead of the upper part of the skin at the cross or horizontal cut or seam at the top overlapping and the lower part sewed up under it with more or less puckering, the opposite is the case. The lower part of the skin at the cut instead of the upper part inclines to protrude. (It is, however, nearly always cut very close) and the upper part of the cut is generally sewed down on the lower. There are in the south as well, some slight individual variations, but the above differences hold good on the whole. Some Tahltan moccasins of this type have the cross or horizontal cut exactly at the end of the toe, the upper and lower ends of the skin at the cut are turned inwards and sewed to each other so there are no indications of overlapping leather below or above. Some moccasins are sewed the same way.

171 291 294

291 294 A third type of moccasin common among the Tahltan is also of three pieces. I will call it Type C or the 'seam over toe' style. It differs from Type B only in having a straight instead of a T-shaped toe seam. This seam extends down the front of the foot from the tongue to and over the toe ending underneath the latter. Sometimes the end of the seam is slightly puckered and sometimes not. There is a little variation in the exact position of the ending of this seam, some ending nearer the end of the toe and others further back, more under the foot. In all, however, the end of the seam is decidedly under the foot. This style of moccasin is the same as Hatt's series No. VI. (See National Museum specimens Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8).

171 291 294 A very similar moccasin referable to the same type is used by tribes further south (viz. Shuswap, Nitak, Okanagan, etc.,) but with them the front or toe seam ends invariably at the point of the toe and never under the latter, and there is hardly ever the slightest puckering of the seam where it terminates.

291 294 The fourth type of moccasin is much less common than the others. I will call it Type D or the 'tongueless' or 'duffle' kind. This is a one piece moccasin and would probably fall in Hatt's moccasin series II. It has generally a shaped heel seam and a straight toe seam ending at the point of or under the toe. There is no tongue or instep piece. Sometimes uppers are added which would put it /in/ the two piece class. (See National Museum specimens No. 9 and 10). This moccasin, if not made in the low slipper style, is laced generally after the style of shoes of the Whites, the lacing passing through holes or eyes on each side of the opening which extends from the ankle to the lower part of the instep, [170] This type of moccasin does not occur among tribes in Southern British Columbia. Among the Tahltan it has [177] only come into vogue during the last eight years, or so and has been copied from the blanket and sheepskin duffle or extra socks used inside of moccasins in cold weather by the Whites in the North (Northern B.C. and Yukon, etc.

Referring to types of moccasins A, B, and C, it may well be to note that all my informants agree that the 'round-toed' Type A was the only kind used by the Tahltan long ago and in fact until within comparatively recent [171] times. It was also the only kind used at one time by the Taku Tagish, and all the neighboring Kaska. They also claim that it was at one time the principal and perhaps only type used by the Tlingit everywhere. It was also used by the neighboring Niska and Kitikshan but whether

/it was/ the only kind used by them is unknown to the Tahltan. Mr. Hatt has spoken of the wide distribution of this type of moccasin in the North, where it appears to extend across the continent from the Pacific to the Atlantic and also occurs among certain peoples of the old world (Hatt pp 171-175, 210, etc.) 291 294 [171]

/In regard to/ the square cut toe, Type B, all informants agree that this type is modern and not essentially Tahltan, as stated by Emmons (Emmons p. 43). They aver that Emmons may have misinterpreted information given him as to the relative frequency of this style of moccasin, which at the present day is probably more common among the Tahltan than the Kaska. The Tahltan say this type of moccasin was first seen among the Kaska and later adopted by the Tahltan, but it was not original with the Kaska. The Tahltan name for it is nê dō`kê which is derived from nê dō, a nickname given by them to a White man who traded for 'fine stuff' with the Kaska in the Dease River country. This man wore this kind of moccasin. He was one of the early fur traders who came into the country from the east. This places the introduction of this moccasin easily within historic times or since the coming of the Whites or fur traders (viz., not earlier than 1834 and probably some time after 1840). 177 291 294

Regarding the seam over toe Type C, all agree that this kind of moccasin was introduced a little later (a few years only) than Type B. This kind of moccasin also appeared first among the Kaska and was later adopted by the Tahltan. Thus both types B and C came in closely following each other in early fur trading days, and both came in from the east, having been adopted by the Kaska before the Tahltan.

'Slipper' moccasins are much used by the Tahltan in the camps and houses in much the same way as slippers among the Whites. They are just like other moccasins excepting that the top or ankle piece is lacking, thus putting them in a two piece class. They have no lacing. Some of them have a loop at the top of the heel for helping in pulling them on. In structure most of them belong to Types B and C, especially the latter. It seems probable these low slipper moccasins were not used long ago. (See National Museum specimens No. 8, 9, 5 and 4). All moccasins were sewed with sinew thread. There was no difference between the styles of moccasins used by men and women. In hunting and travelling moccasins with uppers or ankle pieces were always used. 291 294

Some moccasins made of thin skin had an extra

**Belts**

A good many belts used in ordinary dress both by men and women had more or less quill embroidery on them and some had fringes or thongs along their lower edge which were strung with dentalia. Some others were ornamented with fringing or pinking only. Very few belts were altogether plain. 291 294 531

PERSONAL ADORNMENT

Necklaces were formerly much used, but more by women than by men. Necklaces and collars pertaining specially to lads, maidens, widows etc. have already been described. 301

It seems no necklaces of quills were used, nor others of bone tubes or copper tubes.

Some wealthy people wore large plates or pendants of copper with men's heads incised on them. These were obtained from the Tlingit and they were costly. One informant said these plates of copper were worth more than similar plates of gold would be worth now. A person owning one was considered wealthy it is said.[1] 301 556 [439]

Dentalium shell necklaces were used by everyone. The best ones consisted of very large and ivory white shells. These were much more valuable than necklaces made of medium, small, and poorly coloured shells. The shells were strung on sinew thread and caribou string and were of various sizes and lengths. Some people used a number. It appears none of them were of breast plate form nor covered the breast in a series of necklaces connected with a single neck piece, as was common among the plateau tribes. Necklaces of lynx teeth were used a good deal by women and children. Men who had bear, wolf, beaver, etc. as manitous wore claws of these animals as necklaces. After the traders came bead necklaces came into use. Charms of stone, etc., enclosed in leather were much used as pendants. Nose ornaments were in vogue. None of them were of shells. 301 321 [171] 301 304 321

[1] (The Tlingit tell a story of the origin of these copper plates. The first one was obtained by a poor man who became wealthy).

lakes and for hunting and fishing on their waters. Rafts were also temporary and thrown away after using. After trade sprang up with the Tlingit, dugout canoes of the types used by the Tlingit were bought occasionally by the Tahltan and used on the Stikine River for crossing and moving up and down the river. Nowadays boats made by themselves or by White residents are used almost altogether. Rafts are still used for crossing streams back in the mountains. Good dugout canoes were taken great care of. They were kept in shady places and protected from the weather. Canoe houses were made for some of them, in good positions above high water mark. The earth was excavated and banked up at the sides and the excavation roofed with poles and sheets of bark. (See photo.) Paddles, poles, tow-ropes and in later times sails used on dugout canoes were all of the same kinds as used by the Tlingit.

501 [439]

Snowshoes

Snowshoes were in universal use in the winter time for traveling and hunting and are still as much used as ever. Although snowshoes have been used by the tribe for a very long time back still tradition is emphatic in saying that at one time they were unknown. (See similar tradition among the Carrier, see Morice p. 151.) Most informants agree that the first snowshoes were flat and had a round head. (It seems the snowshoes first used by the Carrier were of this type, see Morice p. 152 and figure 141.) Later round-headed snowshoes were bent up a good deal /i.e., turned up at the toe./ Then the kind having the head shaped like a duck's breast-bone came into vogue, and in late times these were replaced by the present shovel-nosed type. At first sinew was used for filling,/webbing,/and later babiche. I collected the following story regarding the origin of the snowshoe.

292 [481]

[171]

292 539

"Very long ago, when the World was young, people were nearer to animals than they are now, for they were ignorant of many of the arts and had few tools and implements. At this time they had no knowledge of snowshoes and when the snow was very deep they could not travel far from their camps. People wanted to have snowshoes and tried the making of many different kinds and shapes. Some had round frames and some were long. The tails and noses were of various types. All the shoes were rude and none of them

of the frame but passes over and enwraps the latter and also the cross bars. The netting or weaving in all snow shoes is hexagonal, excepting the central or foot filling which is square or quadrangular in some. The part of the foot filling where the ball of the foot rests is often reinforced with an extra wrapping of thong across the shoe. The frames of shoes are generally made a little straighter on one side. When in use the straighter sides are next each other. At least five varieties of snowshoes were used by the Tahltan. 292 294

1) The common snowshoe of the tribe at the present day is the kind called "shovel-nosed" by the whites because of the peculiar shovel or scoop-shaped form of the nose. The tail is also of peculiar shape being wide to near the end where it narrows abruptly and terminates in a sharp point. The nose of the shoe is turned up and rounded in form, the central portion curving inwards in a rounded point. Three cross bars are used one in front and one at the back of the foot filling, and the third near the heel where the frame narrows abruptly. The exact shape and structure of this type of snowshoe will be seen in the figures (See specimens, National Museum No. 35, 36, 37; see also description in Emmons p. 60.)

2) A second kind of snowshoe occasionally used by the tribe is flat and the frame is of one or two pieces. It has a round nose, sharp pointed tail and generally only two cross bars. It is as a rule only used in cases of urgency or necessity when better kinds of snowshoes cannot be made. It is considered a temporary or makeshift shoe to be thrown away when the necessity for its use is past. A few people sometimes make them for children. It seems this kind of snowshoe is the same as described by Morice for the Carrier (see Morice p. 152, Fig. 141.) [171]

3) A third variety of snowshoes now also very seldom used by the Tahltan is generally known as the Kaska or sharp-nosed snow shoe. The frame is of two sticks. Both ends are sharp pointed and the nose is very much turned up. There are three or more cross bars. This shoe is the same as the common kind in vogue among the Kaska and Carrier. (See Morice, p. 153, Fig. 142.) [171]

Of these three types of snowshoes the second is possibly the older, as I heard no traditions of

292 294 [177] its introduction. The sharp-nosed type is said to have been adopted from the Kaska and after its introduction became for a time the common shoe of the Tahltan. Later it was superceded by the shovel-nosed type adopted from the Tagish and upper Taku Indians and this kind is now almost the only shoe used by the tribe.

4) Two other kinds of snowshoes are mentioned by the Tahltan as having been in use formerly. One of these called the "duck's breast-bone nose," seems to have resembled the "shovel nose" -- somewhat in the form of the toe, but the latter was wider and less curved inwards. I did not receive further information on this type of shoe except that [171] it was also used by the Tagish formerly.

5) The other kind of snowshoe called "round or oval nose" had a frame of two sticks which were thinned and joined together with a strong lashing at the toe. The latter was wider and more rounded than the present round-toed shoe of the Kaska, which has a very narrow point. It had only one cross bar forward of the foot and two in all. It seems to have resembled the flat shoe No. 2 in every way except that the "nose" was turned up and possibly a little narrower, and the frame was always of two pieces. This shoe [171] therefore seems to correspond to the ait-za or ordinary snowshoe of the Carrier. (See Morice p. 153). It seems to be almost if not quite obsolete nowaday - but it is said to have been at one time very common among both the Tahltan and Kaska. Snowshoes of the bear foot type (See Morice p. 154, Fig. 143), according to my informants, were never used by the Tahltan even in remote times.

[63] 292 Some snowshoes especially those of women are ornamented with short tufts of colored yarn at intervals along the outside of the frame and on the "nose." It seems this is comparatively modern. (See National Museum specimen No. 37.)

292 284 The tie strings or straps of snowshoes were of thongs or strips of leather. In some localities two strings were used and sometimes a single piece. The latter is said to be the oldest. The methods of adjusting and tying these straps to the snowshoe and to the foot varied in different tribes. Some informants claimed a tie exactly similar to that used by the Carrier (as shown by Morice, Fig. 141) was in use. I noticed two methods of adjusting the strings

among the Tahltan. These will be seen at a glance by referring to the sketches. Both are single string fastenings; both were common and both are said to be old. Of these two common styles, that represented by A seems to be most common; one informant claimed it to be an older style than B. Some men use an additional piece of thong or a wrapping around the part of the shoe string which goes over the top. This is to thicken it and to prevent cutting into the toe. 292 284

Snowshoe spurs or crupers /sic, grippers?/ were in use. These consisted of tips of goat's horns attached to snowshoes to prevent slipping on very hard or heavily crusted snow and icy ground. Two were attached to each shoe on each side of the frame near the front cross bar where they were lashed in place. The butt end of most of them was notched on one side to better fit the frame. They are still used. (See National Museum specimens Nos 38A and 38B). According to Emmons similar spurs are also used by the Chilkat and Nishka etc. (See Emmons p. 61). 292 [171]

A winter walking stick or snowshoe staff was in use, chiefly by hunters in deep snow. It was made of sapling spruce and had near the lower end a circular snowshoe-like frame filled with a netting of babiche. Most of them were of the same type as used by the Carrier (See Morice, Fig. 144). It seems others differed only in the method of netting. (Also see description by Emmons, p. 61). These sticks are now seldom used. 293 [171]

Most informants claim that no methods were in vogue for preventing the slipping of moccasins on icy ground. All agree that no cross pieces of leather for this purpose were sewed to soles of moccasins as was common among the Interior Salish. However a few people used a somewhat different method which I have noticed on at least two pairs of old moccasins thrown away at Tahltan hunting camps. Instead of strips of leather sewed on, a thong is passed in and out through awl holes or small slits made in the sole of the moccasin across the heel and the ball of the foot. The end of the thong is doubled back and threaded through the loops or parts of the thong on the outside of the sole. This forms cross pieces on the sole of the moccasin-resembling twisted cords. 292

884 same manner as others. All songs thus introduced were
553 named after the person who introduced them and were called "so and so's song". Most lyric songs and many dance songs are known to have originated in the ways described. The themes of these songs were varied; some were of a serious, others of a comic nature. Some were love songs, and some described the doings and feelings of people and animals. It seems none of them were real medicine or shaman's songs.

● 171 No annual or other manitou dances were held
536 as among the Salish where young people sang their
767 manitou songs in turn.

884 Young men from the time of their attaining
342 puberty until marriage lived in a lodge by themselves. There people lived in large camps sometimes as many as twenty young men inhabited the young men's lodge at one time. This lodge was of no special construction, being
[615] of the same shape and materials as other lodges. All
884 the young unmarried men of both phratries lived together in this lodge, those of the Raven phratry sleeping on one side, those of the Wolf on the other. They slept, ate, played games, sang and amused themselves. They went out from here singly and in groups to the mountains for hunting of game, training etc. They got their own wood and water and did their own cooking. They mixed very little with other people and kept to themselves.

2. For a man lack of sexual intercourse was bad. 831
He became lazy, lost his energy and spirit, and became unhealthy. Very much of it was also bad. It weakened him and made him of a cross disposition. A medium amount was best and was necessary for his health, spirits, etc.

3. A middle-aged or even elderly man made women 831
conceive more quickly and easily than very young men. 842
It seems this was because they were considered to be mature and therefore to have more stamina, and more fertility of semen.

4. Unlike the opinion held by some individuals 842
of Salish tribes, conception could only take place from [171]
one man, the seed of two men never combining or taking part together in impregnating the female. Therefore a child could have but a single father.

<u>Customs Relating to Women</u> As in most tribes women were 841
isolated during each recurring period of menstruation.
At these times a woman had to live apart from the people [343]
in a shelter or small lodge erected nearby for the purpose. In shape and materials these lodges were like other lodges of the tribe. This custom is now going rapidly out of vogue. If the woman retires to a corner of the common lodge it is generally considered sufficient nowadays.

A woman at this time must not mingle with men

[Since most of the distributional evidence in this monograph is contained in footnotes to the main body of the text, see also category 116 or the specific categories upon which information is desired.]

b: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahanie ND12
Upper Liard



Despite their reported shyness of river travel the Upper Liard Indians recall manufacturing rafts, moose-skin boats, dugouts, and bark canoes. Five or more logs provided sufficient material for the construction of a raft, the parts being lashed together with the aid of two cross poles and spruce-root line. For dryness smaller poles were sometimes laid above these crosspieces and at right angles to them, being secured to their foundation with spruce-root cordage. In the center of a traveling raft people packed sand to provide a hearth suitable for a small fire. A raft pointed at the stern sometimes served hunters in autumn for hunting fowl. These craft are said to have been faster than the square raft.

In spring and summer the people traveled downriver in moose-skin boats that sometimes contained as many as ten moose hides. Smaller craft of this type, however, comprised only one or two skins. The larger skin boats accommodated up to 20 people while the smaller vessels held one or two men going on a hunting expedition, a division corresponding to the two types of canoes to be described below. Teit suggests that among the Tahltan moose-skin boats came to supplant bark vessels, perhaps after the introduction of the gun, which facilitated hunting.[9] To construct such a boat women sewed together the hides with sinew, each skin overlapping the next by about two inches. The seams were sealed with moose grease. Spruce gum, our informant claimed, did not adhere well to these hides. Preparation of the framework for the vessel constituted man's work and required first laying down a single spruce pole as a keel. The keel rested in the center of the sewn sheet of hides, its upturned ends being inserted into the edges of the tightly spanned skin in such a way as to arch the keel. A number of saplings provided the ribs of the vessel and were secured to the keel with babiche lashing. They also hooked into the edges of the hide. Completion of such a boat took no more than a day if both seams cooperated. After one or two uses the hides remained useful for other purposes, but prolonged immersion in water caused them to rot. Teit advises that "these hide canoes have to be kept beyond the reach of dogs, which, when hungry, sometimes destroy them."[10] Propulsion of the skin boat was by paddling. The vessels are recalled as having been both faster and safer than rafts, largely because half-submerged driftwood did not threaten them the way it menaced the raft.

For relatively long distance travel, which required the simultaneous transportation of household goods, people used dugouts which one informant (O) referred to as the "Liard River Indian boat." The native term for the vessel meant "something floating." Relatively rare in the Northern Athapaskan area, the dugout is, of course, common among the Pacific Coast Tlingit as well as on the Plateau. Its use among the Kaska may be regarded as a trait allying these people to the two adjacent areas. Construction of the craft among the Kaska closely approximated details of manufacture reported for the Tlingit. It may logically be supposed that the building of the dugout increased following the introduction of metal tools. Teit writes, "canoes were used on the Stikine, Taku, and some other streams and lakes. They were mostly dug-outs acquired from the Tlingit, but on the upper streams were made by themselves from cottonwood-logs."[11]

[9] Teit, *Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia* (1956), 345.

[10] Teit, *Notes on the Tahltan Indians of British Columbia* (1956), 345. There is evidence that the dugout may be an old feature of circumpolar culture dating to Boreal times. (Spaulding, *Northeastern Archae-*

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River



vehicle. Women as well as men drew the toboggans, a harness for this purpose consisting of one moose-hide line passing around the outside of the arms and around the chest while another cord passed over the top of the head.

Snowshoe types included the round or Loucheux style (said to have been preferable because of its lighter weight) as well as the pointed variety. Function determined the length of these appliances, long shoes being best adapted for a hunter's swift travel in deep snow. Small shoes served well to break trail for a toboggan. In case of emergency a man made temporary snowshoes by bending and lashing a willow pole, which he then filled with heavy babiche line. Children usually employed such crude snowshoes throughout the winter. The customary division of labor appeared, a man constructing the framework while a woman applied the filling. Bone snowshoe needles contained a concave depression at one end that served to push the line between closely laid strands of filling.

In any season the order to travel required men to walk ahead of women, a pattern that allowed them to break trail for the women and children. Blazes consisted of willow and other branches broken in the direction taken. Sometimes men hung moss in the branches of a tree, laid down stones to indicate a course, or cut the trunks of trees with a caribou-horn adz. A single tree felled by fire provided a convenient bridge. Occasionally more complex spans containing a number of poles provided safer means for crossing a stream. The tump line facilitated packing and pack sticks remained unknown. Baby packs consisted of tanned skin padded with moss. In this container the child faced away from the mother. When old enough to leave the moss bag a youngster rode facing the mother on the latter's back supported by a baby strap that was passed around the outside of the arms and tied in front of the woman's breast. Such belts were often decorated with porcupine-quill embroidery. Bark baby carriers were not made.

For communication between traveling groups, the Indians sometimes made use of smoke signals, a single smoke calling attention to a game kill. Also runners might be sent to invite people to the scene of a kill, young men being able to cover 20 miles by running in a single day. Picture writing or drum language were both lacking.

For water transportation the Dease River people relied on rafts, moose-skin boats (which occasionally reached a length of 20 feet), dugouts, and spruce-bark canoes. A raft contained the necessary number of poles lashed to crosspieces with tanned-skin line. Pointing the bow gave the craft greater speed. An earthen fireplace was often situated somewhat forward on a pointed raft, but people invariably spent nights on shore in the course of traveling. Two varieties of spruce-bark canoes may be distinguished, small vessels serving one or two hunters and larger boats for traveling. The bark was sewn to the framework with spruce root line. Decked canoes, sails, or canoes traveling in pairs could not be recalled for the pre-contact period. Men cut paddles from spruce wood. Rounded handles were denied for these implements, the informant claiming that the upper end of the shaft contained a crosspiece on which the canoer fastened his grip. Such crutch-like handles must have resembled the type in use on the Northwest Coast. A ridge was left on the center of the blade, the edges of which might be decorated with notches burned into the wood.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Dease River



535 431 coal. Other masks came from the head skins of black and grizzly bears, the goat, and sheep.

431 Potlatches were accompanied by games and sports, some of which included competitions between teams recruited from opposite moieties. Popular sports including racing, 526 tugs-of-war, blind-man's bluff, wrestling, target shooting, throwing, and gambling. Races took place between men, the end of a course sometimes being marked by the prize that would become the property of the winner. Thus an arrow thrust into a tree would be pulled out by the first contestant to reach the objective. Two spruce bark traveling canoes also raced, each containing a team selected on moiety lines. The winning team claimed the rival vessel as their prize. Three or four men engaged in swimming races, often to see who could cross a river quickest. Tugs-of-war also occurred between moieties. Customarily some boiled meat piled on one side of the playing ground constituted the prize of the winning side. The Kaska, one concludes, did not enjoy sport for its own sake but preferred to compete for some tangible reward. Men and women engaged in tugs-of-war, the sport being played with lines as well as with poles. Poles in turn were both pushed and pulled. Blind-man's-bluff found favor with children and adults. In this game one of the contestants had his eyes bound with caribou hide. Moving with outstretched arms toward the sound cues of the other participants he sought to grasp somebody's coat or arm. In a variety of this game a blindfolded individual sought to secure a marten skin hung in a tree. Success earned him the right to keep the prize. Wrestling matches endured for several hours, for as one contestant was overcome another stepped from the circle of onlookers to challenge the victor. Each defeated challenger paid the victor in moccasins, a bow, or an arrow. Wrestling for women was denied [171] but the informant, in typical fashion, remarked having heard of the practice among the Espatotena and "Mackenzie River Indians." Shooting with bow and arrows for a mark on a tree or toward some other target rarely involved a prize. Sticks were also flung 555 across snow (snow scaling?) to see how far one could hit. Skin tossing and drag-skin 533 games could not be recalled. People keenly relished gambling in the form of the stick game. Teams consisted of from five to ten men each. Instead of playing with the hands under a robe the contestants held their arms behind the back while they shuffled the pointed wooden tokens. Two drummers accompanied the players and simultaneously chanted "hō, hō, hō, hā." Should drums be unavailable the players themselves chanted in a moderately fast, double rhythm, six-eights time: "ha-ha, ha-hi, hi-ha, ha-hi."

537 Through feasts the Indians celebrated a youth's first successful hunt for large game, 431 a girl's return from her initial menstrual seclusion, and a youth's completion of his dream quest. Sometimes the feasts became potlatches. No mortuary feast took place but a "remembrance" potlatch occurred about one year after death. Potlatches were exchanged between moieties and followed a period of gift solicitation. Objects given to a potlatcher constituted outright gifts for the festival from which, in turn, all the givers derived prestige. The contributors received gifts when the opposite moiety repaid the potlatch. Only rich men provided a potlatch, their poorer fellows being unable to accumulate sufficient food or objects for such an undertaking. Clowning and masked dancing enlivened the give-away but nobody recalled the use of ceremonial wigs.

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Dease River
Kechika River



5. A wife's or husband's parents are merged with grandparents.
6. SoWi is classified with granddaughter but DaHu is terminologically differentiated.
7. There are two grandchildren terms applied according to sex and extended as indicated in (1) and (6) above.

The extension of bifurcate merging terminology to group Da and BrDa represents a difference between Dease River and Upper Liard River kinship usage that may indicate longer matrilocal residence and matrilineal descent in the former area.[9]

Clear evidence of joking between grandparents and grandchildren could not be obtained for the Kintagotena. The informant, himself an elderly man, stressed that grandparents exercised an educative and disciplinary role over grandchildren. A boy avoided his real or classificatory sisters after he as well as they had reached puberty. Prior to that time they played together freely. A sister continued to sew moccasins and other clothing for her brother as long as he remained in his parents' household. Following marriage she exchanged gifts with her brother's wife. Two Dease River informants manifested inexplicable reluctance to speak of cross-cousin marriage but asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage was finally admitted, together with the fact that these relatives remained on terms of easy familiarity even if they did not wed. A man's mother-in-law demanded respect and avoidance of undue intimacy. However the pair of relatives were permitted to engage in necessary conversation and could freely eat together. A son-in-law was expected to "feed" his father-in-law, especially when the latter became too old to hunt. A man joked freely with his wife's sister and brother's wife. The treatment of orphans and, perhaps, the fantasies of these unhappy children are reflected in "The Story of the Water-Man" related by Teit.[9] In this folk tale an orphaned boy who had been harshly treated succeeds in doing what nobody else had managed to achieve, breaking the Water Man's penis. The youth allows his uncle to gain credit for the feat. Eventually the uncle is killed, whereupon the boy overcomes Water Man, is made "chief" by the people, and takes his uncle's elder wife as his own. He refuses to have anything to do with her younger co-wife. Psychoanalytically minded readers will readily discern the Oedipus situation in this folktale.

Friendship patterns remain to be discussed. Two men might informally institute a close friendship, in which they would hunt and travel together. They addressed each other *neiÑ'ats* ("just like one"), undoubtedly a cognate of the husband term.

*Kechika River.* Although informants showed no readiness to classify the Kechika (Muddy) people apart from the Dease River Indians, a number of differences in kin terminology between the two areas suggest that we isolate the former region at this point for special consideration. The differences are particularly interesting because they reflect a social structure which has not fully assimilated matrilineal, exogamous moiety organization. Such an interpretation coincides with the fact that the Muddy River is relatively peripheral to the area of intensive matrilineal organization, the Northwest Coast. The kin terms collected from Mark Margaret, our Muddy River informant, follow.

[9] Murdock, *Social Structure* (1949), 140.
[9] Teit, *Kaska Tales* (1917), 409-411.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Frances Lake



601

ego: my Wi.
mom: my Ha.
fatmom: my SoSo, DoSo, SoDa, DoDa.
child: my Da Ho.

Terms for FaSiSo and FaSiDa could not be secured. The following features are readily apparent:

1. Indications are that Frances Lake cousin terminology, like that of the adjacent Upper Liard River Indians, is Crow in type.

2. Bifurcate merging results in the classification together of Mo and MoSi.

3. Generation terminology leads to the grouping together of Da, BrDa, and SiDa. One's son is classed with BrSo but SiSo is terminologically identified with MoBr.

4. Reciprocal terms apply between MoBr and SiSo. However, SiDa is classified with daughter, as already indicated.

5. Parents-in-law are identified with grandparents; FaSi is also merged with the latter lineal relative.

6. SoWi is classed with Da. The DaHu is terminologically isolated by the son-in-law term, which is the one common to the whole intermontane area.

7. There is only a single grandchild term.

Striking is the almost perfect correspondence between the Frances Lake and Upper Liard kinship systems. A word of caution is suggested in the fact that the informant was married to an Upper Liard Indian woman.

*Summary.* What common features link the intermontane kin term systems? Some generalizations emerge from a study of the data and may be summarized as follows:[9]

601
171

1. Crow-type cousin terminology gives way in the eastern part of the Cassiar to Iroquois terms. Here there is also an absence of unilineal organization.

2. Bifurcate merging is manifested in the identification of Mo and MoSi. The merging of these terms fails to appear in the Muddy River basin and among the Tselona.

3. Bifurcate merging is manifested in a tendency to identify terminologically So and BrSo, Da and BrDa. Children of a sister are frequently distinguished from own and brother's children. Thus SiSo is classed with MoBr among the Upper Liard, Dease River, Tselona, and Frances Lake Indians. SiDa is merged with Da in the Upper Liard and Frances Lake tribes, with MoBr among the Dease River and Tselona people, and with grandchild along the Kechika (or Muddy) River.

4. A term is frequently used reciprocally between MoBr and SiSo.

5. Bifurcate merging results in the identification of grandparents and parents-in-law.

6. Bifurcate merging results in the frequent classification together of SoWi and granddaughter. DaHu is consistently designated by a son-in-law term.

[9] It is well to remain aware of the fact that the kin-term systems presented are those which informants knew through use. That is, they were current in 1944 and 1945. There is no certainty that the terms corresponded to those used aboriginally although a considerable degree of agreement can be assumed. It is likely that careful research in the Cassiar will reveal a number of errors in the present writer's material, partly because the genealogical method was not used. Experience has demonstrated to us the value of this method and today we would not try to collect kinship data without this tool.

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12
Upper Liard



601 Two grandparent and four sibling terms (generally extended to parallel cousins) are
171 found throughout the area. In general the kin terms are consistent with a system that includes matrilocal residence, matrilineal moieties, sororal polygyny, sororate, and asymmetrical cross-cousin marriage with the MoBrDa or FaSiSo.[9]

## SOCIAL UNITS LARGER THAN THE FAMILY

616 Two permanent social groupings larger than the family or kin group may be dis-
619 tinguished in the Cassiar, the band and the moiety. It is scarcely possible to discern
621 fixed economic or social classes, the latter term referring here simply to a distinction between rich and poor families. The term "band" designates the microcosmic extended family group with its unrelated hangers-on or adopted children. Several such units occupying contiguous districts constituted the unorganized and highly amorphous macrocosmic band for which we have used the word "tribe."[10] Beyond speaking a similar dialect and intermarrying, the component units of a macrocosmic band experienced little feeling of solidarity. Vague shifting boundaries further reduced the integration of these groups. As already pointed out, relatively large aggregates of people remained in temporary association around a fish lake in summer and winter. Such transitory villages, however, probably did not usually include an entire macrocosmic band, although the pattern of living and playing together, like marriage, must have counteracted feuding and thus strengthened the integration of the people in a territory.

596 *Upper Liard Kaska.* Bordering the twisting valley of the upper Liard River lay the
622 territory exploited by the extended-family bands of the Natita[a]agotena. Little could be recalled about these units except that on occasion, in winter and summer, many of them camped in one place (tenanat[b]kleme, "lots of people stay together"). Each of the migratory bands recognized a headman. As one informant said, "Before the arrival of the white men there were many bosses" (X). These leaders were primarily family heads so that, according to Chapple and Coon's system of analysis, true (i.e., interfamily) political organization remained only incipiently realized in aboriginal Kaska society.[11] The headman's ability as a hunter, a quality that attracted people to join his band, also helped him to accumulate wealth. When need required, his food resources were freely distributed among the band members. A leader held authority as long as he lived. Upon death a son succeeded to the position of family chief. Should the youth be a poor or indifferent hunter, any other man in the band might be called upon to assume leadership. The death of a headman probably caused a redistribution of the band's personnel around one or more new leaders. Leaders who lost competence found themselves ignored, the people adhering to a more intelligent man. The headman's functions transcended mere food getting. His wisdom derived from experience, and the ability to speak convincingly reinforced his authority in moral matters. When food resources ran low the

[a] See below, pp. 131, 133.

[b] This terminology was first employed to describe the social organization of the Fort Nelson Slave. Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 60-65.

[c] These writers have defined true political authority as arising when one individual or group originates action to persons other than his kin. Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (1942), 330.

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face. The hood obscured any view the sky, which was partly its intended function. Below the robe she wore ordinary garb. The pubescent used water sparingly during her seclusion, drinking through a quill or willow tube whose use prevented diarrhoea. To scratch the head with fingers threatened loss of her hair; hence the scratching stick of wood or bone. Initial seclusion is said to have lasted from three months to a year. If the parents moved camp in this period the girl was escorted by her mother. Upon crossing a frozen lake the girl occasionally planted a willow stick in the snow.[11] Menstruants did not have to break a fresh trail. Informants could not recall the bull boat or canoe used along the Fort Nelson and lower Liard rivers.[12] Subsequent to menarche the girl dispensed with the ceremonial paraphernalia but passed each period in a brush camp where she stayed for three or four days. A padding of dry moss inside the breech cloth served to absorb the menstrual blood.

Ideally it was dangerous to have sex relations with a menstruating woman, nevertheless boys eluding adult watchfulness, sometimes visited the camp of a sequestrated girl and engaged her in coitus. The following remarks transcribed from a 23-year old woman refer specifically to the post-contact period but probably reveal some of the sentiments and conditions formerly associated with menstrual ceremonialism.[13] Speaking of her initial seclusion, which she passed in the house, the girl said:

> I stayed in the house one month and never see my brother. Mama had to cook two bannocks and I only eat dry meat. I had to pick needles off spruce brush so I could sew good. If I get fresh meat my uncle or my daddy have to chew it for me. Not allowed to laugh for one month! Not supposed to eat wild rhubarb. They say you get gray quick. Never eat fresh berries. My aunt had tent alone but me winter time and I stay in the house. When my grandpa come back I go with my aunt. When a man come into the house I must not look at him but I talk to him. My grandma always watch. Used to be that boy did same thing like girl.
>
> I wanted to go to dance. I sneak out when grandma went but I hear grandma come and I come back. I tell grandma I want to go but she say no. Gee, I get mad. Mama and daddy they all go. Grandma always watch, just like policeman.
>
> All the boys go in May's tent [the informant's aunt] when grandma sleep. In morning they all go. Grandma never know. That's why mama never lose one kid, we all live. My auntie [referring to another aunt, not May] lose lots of kids. My auntie never tell when she get sick. May she tell but she never do right. That's why we lose our auntie. They say that's May's fault.
>
> When a woman seen moose or caribou she takes match box and turns it around and around [describes a circle with her hand]. First time you handle knife somebody hold your hand and make you cut. Woman does this. A man makes you chop things with ax. A woman makes you sew.

Attention may be called to the informant's statement, "Used to be that boy did same thing like girl." It is not clear if the informant intended to refer to the youth's vision quest or to his puberty ceremony. Such a ceremony is reported for other Athapaskan people.[14]

[11] This reminds reminiscent of the ritual followed by returning warriors among the Upper Liard Kaska. See above, p. 95.

[12] Honigmann, *Ethnography and Acculturation of the Fort Nelson Slave* (1946), 85, 91.

[13] The informant is Dorothy Flower. See Honigmann, *Culture and Ethos of Kaska Society* (1949), 34, 345-350.

[14] Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina* (1937), 142-143.

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was gone. The children too had been killed. Her husband was gone. The older brother said, "Don't think anything about it till we see our brother-in-law and see how he treats us."

The widower found a beaver den and set a net. He got two beaver. From one he removed the fat and he ate the other. Then his brothers-in-law came along. The husband began to weep. He asked them, "Have you seen what I have done?" He added, "You can kill me if you want to." The older brother said, "I'll do nothing till you eat." The husband picked up a piece of fat and cooked it while holding it in his hand. This gesture demonstrated his courage. He knew he was in danger of being killed but was warding off danger with a show of fearlessness and resistance to pain. He offered some meat to the brothers. When they had eaten the elder said, "I'll let you go because your hand is half-cooked now. I'm not going to bother you. I still have a younger sister at home."

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Two observations may be offered concerning this anecdote, first, the responsibility assumed by a brother for his sister's moral conduct in relation to her husband stands out. Second, the use of deliberately induced pain to demonstrate courage should be noted. Both of these patterns are strongly and formally developed in the Plains Culture Area. Not only is the husband in the tale forgiven for killing the stingy woman but he is promised one of her sisters as a new wife.

586 [754]

Divorce aroused neither sharp criticism or shame, although the deserted spouse might display more or less resentment. Sometimes a man used sorcery to kill the woman who had quit him or to cause her children by the subsequent husband to die. Reasons for divorce included the desire of one marriage partner for another man or woman (perhaps a man who could provide a richer living than the current husband), cruelty, and adultery. Women did not always permanently quit husbands who treated them badly. Sometimes a wife merely ran off to spend a night in the bush. In case of divorce older children remained with the husband while infants went with the mother. When he became grown-up, a son might return to his father. Both patterns suggest the recency and superficial imposition of matrilineal descent in the culture.

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Economic benefits accrued to a widow and her children under the levirate. However, unless the real or classificatory brother were single or the husband of the widow's sister he could not live intimately with the woman but merely supported her and her children in his camp.[*] Under such circumstances a widow would remarry following a two year period of mourning and upon receiving the consent of her brother-in-law. To choose a new husband closely following a man's death, aroused the jealousy of the deceased husband's ghost. As already noted, when a wife died her father frequently invited the bereaved husband to choose a sister-in-law as his spouse and might even insist that the latter be taken.[*]

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*Dease River Kaska.* Boys married when they could provide sufficient meat and skins for a family, a girl when she was capable of performing household duties and understood the responsibilities of married life, particularly its ideal of faithfulness. Incest rules extended to include one's moiety. Each sex normally secured the parents' consent

[*] Here lies a powerful incentive for two brothers to marry a pair of sisters. Such a marriage readily accommodates the levirate. It would be desirable to know if there is a significant correlation between these two traits when a large series of cultures are compared.

[*] Levirate and sororate have both been reported for the Tlingit. Among these coastal people a nephew sometimes inherited the widow or the niece of a deceased woman might marry the widower. Jones, *Study of the Tlingets of Alaska* (1914), 139.

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# APPENDIX A: THE POSITION OF THE KASKA IN THE NORTHERN ATHAPASKAN CULTURE AREA

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IF we follow Osgood's classification, the Kaska Indians belong in the Arctic Drainage division of the Northern Athapaskan Culture Area.[1] To make such a classification is tantamount to describing Kaska culture as comprising "essentially simple patterns of behavior." Nevertheless, comparison of the Kaska to peoples living in the east, like the Slave, Beaver, and other Indians, reveals quite clearly that the former possess certain features relating their culture to the cultures of the more complex Pacific Drainage division. The Kaska are, of course, one of the westernmost of the Arctic Drainage Athapaskans and hence peripheral to the Pacific Drainage cultures. Therefore simply on grounds of geographical position a transitional character might be expected for the culture.[2] Indeed it is surprising that the transitional features are not more numerous or stronger. We are quite certain that the absence of salmon in the Cassiar is quite firmly related to the predominantly inland character of intermontane living. That region simply lacked the environmental base which, in conjunction with an appropriate exploitative technology, could support an expanding population, relatively sedentary habitations, and complex ceremonial life.

Among the traits of Kaska culture which clearly link that system to the Pacific Drainage division (and also with the Northwest Coast cultures) first mention may be given to the potlatch, with such associated elements as grease drinking contests, messenger stick, songs, dances, animal masks, and others. However the potlatch in the Cassiar appears to have been a much attenuated form of that ceremony as it occurred further westward. In the first place, although the give-away brought honor to a donor, it does not seem basically to have been a social climbing feast.[3] Furthermore, the amount of wealth distributed was limited. These two interrelated conditions follow from the fact that in comparison to the Pacific Coast people wealth remained more limited among the Arctic Drainage Indians with their severer struggle for existence. The attenuation of the potlatch is a quality shared by other features of social organization that make Kaska transitional, like unilinear (matrilineal) descent; economic-prestige classes, which appear scarcely formalized; and transitory villages, which are limited to periods spent at some productive fish place. Servants may be another linking trait[4] but as long as they remain occasional the pattern is not clearly diagnostic. Even the eastern Arctic Eskimo sometimes use an orphan or no'er-do-well as a handyman.[5] A list of further Pacific Drainage and Northwest Coast traces in Kaska culture may

[1] Osgood, *Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* (1936), 20-21.

[2] Osgood, *Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians* (1936), 4.

[3] We adopt this term to designate ceremonies whose end is increased on prestige enhancement and status mobility. Of course, any ceremony may contribute to these ends. Cf. Chapple and Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (1942), 334.

[4] Osgood reports commoners working for aristocrats among the Tanaina. Osgood, *Ethnography of the Tanaina* (1937), 134.

[5] Honigmann, *Great Whale River Field Notes* (1948, 1950).

6: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945)1954 ND12 Nahane ND12



● 171 include: line dancing, fire drill, labrets, nasal plugs, dugout canoes, horn spoons, horn adz, enemy dummies for war magic, ceremonial cannibalism, shield, armor, scalping, tattooed war records, thunder bird concept, cremation. Perhaps also to be included are the shaman's ceremonial doll, special respect for the otter, crutch-like paddle handle, and weregild. The number of such traits is not great and fails to give Kaska culture the overall Pacific Drainage complexion that would follow from the presence of patterns like salmon fishing and marine hunting, surplus production, sedentary life, hereditary nobility, and intense ceremonialism. In form, the Kaska community resembles overwhelmingly the small, mobile, hunting and fishing band characteristic of the northern forest, producing no surplus that would allow time for leisure activities, egalitarian, lacking chieftainship, and possessed of few forms of wealth.

We have also sought to isolate unanalyzable terms from vocabularies collected from several Kaska informants with the object of ascertaining the material traits in the local culture that are fundamental to Athapaskan material culture as a whole. Such terms are presented below. A single asterisk before any trait indicates that the Fort Nelson Slave also identify the item with an unanalyzable term. A double asterisk shows that the trait occurs with an unanalyzable term in Osgood's analysis of Ingalik material culture.[6] A triple asterisk is used to show that the trait occurs in similar fashion in Slave, Ingalik, and Kaska cultures.

***Arrow[7]
***Bark canoe
*Bow
Breech cloth
***Broiling stick
Bone toy
***Canoe paddle
Clothing bag
*Club
Digging stick
Drinking cup
Drinking tube
Dwelling
*Fish weir
***Hat[8]
Inner belt
Kettle
***Man's awl[9]
*Moccasin[7]
***Outer belt
**Parka
Robe
Shirt
*Snare
***Sand-tanned skin line
Snow line
***Snowshoe[7]
Snowshoe staff
***Square raft
***Stone ax[7, 8]
*Stone knife[7]
***Tambourine drum
***Trigger deadfall
***Trousers[7]
**Wood bowl

A brief analysis of these 35 items from Kaska culture reveals that 14 are similarly designated with unanalyzable terms by Slave and Ingalik speakers. Of these, 5 can be shown to occur similarly among the Sarsi Indians. These traits may be basic in Northern Athapaskan culture in the sense of enjoying great age. They certainly enjoy a wide distribution.

[6] Osgood, *Ingalik Material Culture* (1940), 421.
[7] Also given in unanalyzable form by the Sarsi Indians of Alberta.
[8] Added to Ingalik list by Osgood but without Ingalik evidence.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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rather consistently maintained that it was white people who constantly spoke of "witches." Indians, it was asserted, knew nothing of this phenomenon. Sam Bob said, "What you call witch come from someplace—Tahltan, Tlingit maybe. That story come to Lower Post, so people believe it . . . . . Before that start, lot of people die off." Asked what people had died from he replied, "Dysentery maybe. When I was kid lot of people die off . . . and they believe witch does that." This man ascribed witch-hunting to an older generation. "I know old people no good. Look they die off. I tell one old man like that. I say, 'Think about thirty years ago, what you did on your nephew.' 'Well,' he said, 'Not my fault. Somebody else's fault.' Gee, they killed lots of people that time—maybe hundreds of kids. Where now Watson Lake Airport, lots of kids get killed in there."

Knowing the Kaska's unfamiliarity with the western system of numeration one will immediately discount this estimate of "hundreds." The actual scope of witch-fear is difficult to reconstruct, yet when the remembered cases of torture and killing are considered against the size of the population it will be appreciated that the phenomenon achieved serious proportions. Today the attitudes that went to support witch-hunting have almost entirely disappeared. In the winter of 1944-45, however, when a series of dysentery epidemics spread through the Kaska territory, a girl visiting Lower Post from the Nelson River region is reported to have said, "The people pretty bad yet . . . they talk about witch."

On the basis of the ethnographic data attention may now be directed to attempting to discover an explanation for this witch-fear. For purposes of convenience historical explanations will first be considered separately from psychological and structural theories. Actually all of these types of explanation are inseparable and interdependent and any final analysis must consider all in conjunction.

### ANALYSIS OF THE DATA. I. HISTORICAL

A survey of the circumstances related to the introduction of witch-fear among the Kaska may well begin by an attempt to spot the distribution and degree of development of similar behavior among tribes adjacent to the Kaska. From this procedure it may be determined if Kaska witch-fear is an indigenous phenomenon or if, following the informants' statements, it can be shown to have been derived from outside the area where its practice was earlier or more developed. We will discuss in order the Tahltan, Carrier, Petly River, Slave, Taku, and Tlingit groups.

A reference to Tahltan belief in witches is reported by Teit who says, "Witchcraft is believed in, witches being a class distinct from shamans."[9] The same distinction is made in Emmons's report of an earlier visit to the Tahltan about 1908. He writes:

[9] Teit, 1953, p. 486.

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If after several visits from the shaman the patient does not improve, the shaman tells the family that a witch spirit possesses him, and that until it is liberated nothing can be accomplished; then after further payment he points out or reveals in song the person who has bewitched the patient. In thus indicating the witch, an enemy or an inoffensive person is usually made responsible, and he is forthwith bound and placed in an outhouse without food. If the person recovers, the accused person may be liberated, but if he dies, the one charged with sorcery may be killed.[13]

The distinction between witches and shamans noted by these two observers corroborates the Kaska data.[14]

A witch killing was reported for the Tahltan Indians by Sam Bob, a Kaska Indian, who has made a number of trips to Telegraph Creek where he is well known. One night Joe Campbell (whose son, Dick, is still living) missed his classificatory sister's son. He walked to a water-hole in the river and found blood stains on the ice. Reporting the matter to the authorities at Telegraph Creek, he accused an Indian whose wife was dying of having perpetrated the youth's murder. The accused man was convicted and hung. These events probably took place about thirty years ago.[15]

For the Sekani and Carrier Indians living in the area northeast and south of the Stikine River respectively, the ethnographic literature contains no reference to witchcraft that may be used to distinguish this behavior from sorcery.

From immediately north of the Kaska, evidence of witch hunting is contained in a manuscript written by a trapper, Poole Field, in 1913.

> Amongst the Pellys and Little Salmons the belief in witches and casting of spells was very strong up to a few years ago when contact with white people and the fear of the police practically put a stop to any serious crimes. The Medicine men were the very leaders of this. They were supposed to have the power to detect a witch, when he or she were overpowered and tied up hands and feet and then hung up by the heels to a tree.
>
> Then the doctor would make medicine over them and sing and dance, asking them if things looked different in any way. If the supposed witch said no she was left hanging there till he did. Then he was taken and killed.
>
> Only in cases when the person was supposed to be a witch and had very powerful relations and they gave the doctor presents to doctor over him did anyone get off from being killed.[16]

Here again we find a distinction between the functions of shamans and

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[13] Emmons, 1911, pp. 113–114.

[14] But the distinction was apparently overlooked by Calbreath (cited by Dawson) who wrote: "The vicious and unnatural practices of these people appear to be traceable in all cases to the teaching of their medicine-men or witches, in whom they believe implicitly. (Dawson, 1887, p. 6.)

[15] When questioned, Basil Carlick, a Tahltan, denied all knowledge of witch-fear ever occurring in the Tahltan area. [16] Field, 1913, p. 4.

7: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1947
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witches. Any distribution of witchcraft north of the Pelly River is not reported, although this area presents a large gap in ethnographic knowledge.

East of the Kaska the Etlaotena, a Slave group, do not appear to have been familiar with a belief in witchcraft as distinct from sorcery but they did fear the Kaska sorcerers, perhaps interpreting the rumors of witchcraft which reached them in the frame of reference of traditional sorcery.[17]

For the Taku Indians west of the Upper Liard Indians there is also a lack of ethnographic material which might be examined for evidence of a belief in witches. Farther west, however, along the Pacific coast of Alaska, the ethnographic data on witchcraft represent largely historical reconstruction but the pattern is so similar to Kaska practice as to warrant consideration. According to Swanton,

> When caught, the wizard was tied up for eight or even ten days without food or drink, unless he confessed to the deed and agreed to find the witching medicine. After he had brought this out he waded in the sea up to his shoulders and scattered it. If he refused to confess he was liberated at the end of the time given but not unfrequently he died before its expiration. Sometimes, however, his friends interfered and bloodshed resulted.[18]

In practicing witchcraft, the witch among the Tlingit is supposed to have secured an article of the proposed victim's clothing—some hair, spittle, or fish bone from which the latter had eaten. "Then he made an image of his body, which he treated in the way he wanted the living person to suffer, making it a mere skeleton, to bring on emaciation; deforming the hands, to destroy the ability of a woman at weaving, etc."[19]

According to Jones' report of the Tlingit, diseases, "especially those of a lingering and wasting nature, like consumption, are regarded as the work of malevolent witches." Two techniques for effecting a cure were recognized, expelling "the evil spirit that possessed the sick" and locating and killing the witch.[20]

> In case the sick recovered, no witch was hunted. On the other hand, if the patient grew worse and showed signs of dying, then the wily doctor evaded responsibility by asserting that a witch was hindering his work and must be found and killed.[21]

Jones remarks that an ineffectual person was usually selected as the witch. "The victim was first reviled, reproached, brutally and shamefully treated, and

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[17] Honigmann, 1946. There is a possibility that the distribution of witch-fear may not have traversed the whole eastern Kaska area. Any answer to this question must wait until ethnographic materials become available for the eastern Kaska-tena. Grouard's reference to a western dwelling tribe who around 1865 were known as Bad People has already been pointed out. Such a designation is too typical of relations between different dialect groups of Northern Athapaskans to admit the possibility that the reference may have been conditioned by reports of witchcraft.

[18] Swanton, 1908, pp. 469–470. [19] Swanton, 1908, p. 470.

[20] Jones, 1914, p. 514. [21] Jones, 1914, p. 136.

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subsequently put to death." Torture included tying the alleged witch to stakes before the rising tide, or in the forest "for wolves to devour." A suspect was also allowed to starve to death. Sometimes the limbs of suspects "were tied to their bodies and then they were thrown naked on a bed of thorns."[34] Swanton, Jones, and Pinart all speak of Tlingit shamanism as apparently distinct from witchcraft.[35]

Accepting the statements of informants that belief in witchcraft reached the Kaska from outside of the area, it seems extremely likely that such attitudes were transmitted from the Tlingit, where the witchcraft behavior was (at least ideally) more firmly developed and, from its more extensive relations with the shaman complex, apparently persisted from aboriginal times. From the Pacific coast the attitudes passed to the Tlingits' immediately adjacent neighbors, the Tahltan (and possibly the Taku) and then made their way across the Cordillera to the Pelly River and western Kaska Indians.[36] In this process of transmission the techniques of witchcraft were apparently lost but the important underlying fear of the witches' activities as well as their torture, death, and selection from "ineffectual persons," namely children, were retained. From Sam Bob's statement, "What you call witch come from some place—Tahltan, Tlingit maybe" and his report of a woman coming to Lower Post with witch-fear learned from Tahltan sources it would appear that the Tahltan were middlemen in this transmission. The Tahltan had long been intermediaries in the fur trading carried on between the Tlingit and the interior Indians although in early days the privilege of trade with the Tahltan had been reserved for only a few Tlingit families.[37] Intercourse between these tribes tended to intensify when the Tlingit became the boatmen who, during the gold rushes following 1872 and 1897, operated up the Stikine River visiting Glenora and Telegraph Creek. On the other hand the absence of witch-fear phenomena to the east of the Kaska, among the Fort Nelson Slave, and to the south, among the Sekani studied by Jenness[38] proves conclusively that the behavior could not have reached the Kaska from those tribes. Further light on the mechanics of transmission will undoubtedly be gained through ethno-

[34] Jones, 1914, pp. 156-157. See also Oberg, 1934, pp. 154-155.

[35] Swanton, 1908, p. 404; Jones, 1914, pp. 155-156; Pinart, 1872, p. 810. Stevenson also reports a difference between the shaman and an inferior medicine man whom he also calls a "wizard sorcerer." (Stevenson, 1891.)

[36] Field work may uncover an alternative explanation for the transmission of witch-fear to the Taku and Pelly River Indians. According to Jenness the original Athapaskan population of these tribes died out and the Taku region around Trutle Lake was taken over by Tlingit people who were later joined by Francois Lake Indians in moving to the country of the upper Pelly and Ross Rivers. (See Jenness, 1932, p. 390; also Field, 1918.) According to Lloyd Tom, a Kaska informant, a few Indians from Lower Post were permanently attracted to the Pelly River country by the cheaper prices prevailing at the trading post established on Ross River around 1890.

[37] Dawson, 1887, p. 4. [38] Jenness, 1937.